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* 776 773 [821] is in the upper Bella Coola valley near Firvale, cause cold breezes by blowing them through their anuses. *ɬɬaxwan·i* especially is a prominent figure in mythology (I, p. 670), but she has not appeared for many generations and her actions belong to legend rather than to either religion or social practices. It is said that she has four sons who once wanted to break a large number of grass stalks. Finding it difficult to do so on account of their toughness, they asked their mother to freeze them; she did this and destroyed every other plant at the same time.

* 776 821 177 [731] Another anthropomorphic being is *Sxk'lätl*, the supernatural South Wind of winter who brings storm and snow. The Carriers affirm that every icicle which grows down until its end is in the snow is his walking-stick, and that to break one causes famine. Some Bella Coola have adopted this belief and carefully refrain from destroying such icicles.

* 776 Supernatural beings experience the same difficulty as mortals in reckoning the passage of time. A number of calendrical experts live in the land above, whose duty it is to record both months and years. They are called *Älmɔnskällwaiyaix* or *Älmɔnskitlnum*. They have been seen occasionally, and are [575] shown, as masked figures, at *sɔsaok* (I, p. 180), but not at *kusiut* dances. Two of these beings always appear, and they argue about their observations after the fashion of humans.

Another denizen of *Nusmät·a* of slight importance in the social life of the Bella Coola is *Xemxemälotla*, a friend and [575] associate of *Älquntäm*. He acts as patron of *kusiut* dancers, and in this manner is brought to the notice of mortals. In the land above his function is to cherish *Tläqmä·ks*, a being resembling a diminutive man, created by *Älquntäm* as a child to all supernatural beings. *Xemxemälotla* is its guardian or nurse; and for safety he usually keeps his charge in the far distant upper land above *Nusmät·a*, where *Älquntäm* frequently visits the two. In some mysterious manner, *Tläqmä·ks* has been [777] known to reach this earth, giving good fortune to the lucky finder. He is in many cases spoken of as "The Cherished

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761 an owl, possibly one of those which normally roost on the tree
775 behind *Nusmăt-a*. This element of a dead person occasionally
825 communicates with a living relative, as evidenced by the following story.

[539
827] A number of years ago a party of men and women camped for the night beside one of the rivers flowing into South Bentinck Arm. After supper, as they were resting by their fire, an owl kept hooting from a neighbouring tree. One of the men turned to a friend who had been making obscene remarks and, half in jest, warned him to be careful in case one of his relatives was listening. The foolish fellow looked at the owl and asked:

"Are you a relative of mine?"

There was no answer, but when he had repeated the question four times, the owl spoke:

"I am so-and-so," he said, naming the deceased grandfather of his questioner.

Consequent upon the belief that the voice of a dead person enters an owl, the bird is treated with considerable respect. It is improper to make fun of one, or to ask who it was when alive. Should a person do so, the owl answers with the interrogator's own name and he soon dies.

761 On the whole, the life does not affect the daily existence of the Bella Coola as profoundly as does the spirit. When they stop to ponder on the reason for some event, they readily admit the importance of the life with its constituent elements, but they are not always considering its activities and seeking to strengthen it. It is essentially a religious attribute, of greater moment to a man of imaginative and suggestible temperament than to one who carries on the daily routine without asking *why* and *wherefore*.

THE TALLY POST

773 In the beginning of time, when *Ălquntăm* sent the first
777 people down to earth, he erected in *Nusmăt-a* posts emblazoned with the bird or animal crest taken by each to serve as a memorial, or reminder, to him of the number of individuals existing

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below. These are termed tally posts." Each remained upright as long as the individual to whom it referred was alive, but fell at his death. Since that time, whenever *Ălquntăm* lends to a mortal *sininits*, the undefined power that causes life, his supernatural artisans erect in the land above a tally post for the new-born infant, marked with the bird or animal used by an ancestor. As long as this remains upright and straight, firmly fixed to the ground, its owner continues to be strong and prosperous, and has success in all his undertakings; if it becomes loose, or is crooked, he ceases to succeed. Prosperity does not depend upon the activities of his fellowmen, but upon his supernatural possessions, spirit, tally post, and a third to be described later. If the tally post tilts far from the perpendicular, its owner becomes ill, and can be cured only by straightening it. In some cases *Ălquntăm* is kind enough to do this if placated by prayer and ceremonial chastity (I, p. 110), and in olden days, shamans were occasionally able to penetrate to the land above for this purpose. Even when a post was reached, they were sometimes unable to set it upright, though they could always estimate the length of a man's life from its angle of inclination. In one of the *kusiut* dances, the performer pretends to have the ability to go aloft and the uninitiated are deceived by the erection of a tall ladder up which he climbs and disappears (II, p. 202). On his return, he reports the condition of the tally posts of various people. This performance serves to remind both members of the society and uninitiated of the existence of these supernatural elements, and of the dependence of individuals on them for success in life. In spite of this ritual, actual knowledge of the powers and functions of tally posts has been derived only from the first Bella Coola who, created in the land above, were acquainted with the mysteries of life and transmitted such lore to their descendants. One old man expressed the opinion

[773] [777] [753] [782] [755] [575]

"*Xnuxnuxnuits*. One of the names of *Nuxnuxa*, *Nuxnuxnuxits*, refers to these, meaning, "The Place of the Tally Posts." *Xnuxnuxnuits* and *snuxnuxnuits* are closely associated; sometimes the latter is pronounced *huxhuxits*, although this may be an error in recording.

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773 777 that tally posts have mentality, and suggested that it might be these which attend the gathering of the supernatural beings at the winter solstice instead of an element from the human body itself.

One elderly Bella Coola, of philosophical temperament, described *q̓watlnusta* in terms far removed from the accounts of tally posts. According to him, every individual receives this supernatural possession at birth, and it remains with him, in close association with his body, throughout life. It stays in front of his face, invisible, yet having substance, and constantly shaking from side to side. If a man fails to receive a present at a potlatch, it is because his *q̓watlnusta* has ceased to move. When stationary it is not transparent, and not only hides its owner from the donor's sight, but acts as a barrier to his thoughts. The same man stated that this element can leave the body, can be seen by shamans, and that it is the one which ascends at the winter solstice to *Nas̱mā·a*. At death it is believed to accompany the spirit and the life to the land above.

[431] [828] [756] [775]

177 773 777 There seems no reason to doubt that the concept of tally posts is an ancient belief. Nor does the application of the term *q̓watlnusta* to another immaterial possession of quite another type destroy this probability. It must be remembered that within the last eighty years the Bella Coola have suffered not only from the tremendous upheaval caused by the coming of the white man, but have been reduced to a mere fraction of their former numerical strength by various epidemics. These factors have led to the partial forgetting of ancient beliefs, with consequent confusion. It is probable that the use of the same term for the tally post, intimately connected with an individual's life although situated in the land above, and for an invisible and intangible possession which goes in front of him, is due to this recent decay of ancient convictions. If this be true, it merely means that in former times the Bella Coola had yet another supernatural element to govern and influence their lives.

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THE WASH-BASIN

A third supernatural element which must be in good condition if a Bella Coola is to prosper in life, is a *nuxʔulacta*, wash-basin. In the land above, *Alquntám* has a large one filled with water which, having been constructed by himself, is replete with power. When a child is born, a small part of this receptacle, with its contents, is reserved for him; the supernatural artisans choose the actual section, but it is *Alquntám* who gives them the ability to do so. A fortunate man, whose ventures are successful and to whom goods are attracted, is said to have a good wash-basin; whereas the ill-luck of an unfortunate person is attributed, among other reasons, to the small size of his supernatural vessel. The Bella Coola have no clear ideas about the connection between an individual and his wash-basin. Some state that it remains in the land above; others believe that its intangible essence comes to a child at birth and grows up with him, always near his body, as if it were the offspring of the basin in the land above. As long as it remains in motion the owner continues in good health and prosperity, but if it becomes sluggish he falls ill. Long ago, shamans knew how to reanimate a wash-basin, but since the time of the first people, when supernatural ability was common, this has been a lost art. Senile decay is attributed to listlessness of this possession.

River water, being a creation of *Alquntám*, is akin to the water in his basin above. Boys are always advised to bathe in the river at dawn; the act is termed *dɬulucwm*, a word connected with *nuxʔulacta*. A prayer is uttered while washing. The combination of verbal appeal and the application of water strengthens the petitioner's wash-basin and so increases his chances for prosperity. Until a few years ago, this practice was almost universal. Water is always considered a strange substance, obviously a supernatural creation, and believed to be the chief means of sustenance for a child after being weaned.[a]

[a] This may be a more rationalization.

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Shamans achieve much of their success through their ability to put their wash-basins, both tangible (I, p. 360) and immaterial, in tune with *Alqunûm*'s in the land above. One method of treating a patient is by washing, with the idea that the water and vessel used have potency through association with those in the upper world. It is believed that in the distant past, shamans were even able to carry their patients to the land above and wash them in *Alqunûm*'s own basin. Such feats are perpetuated in certain shamans' names, such as *Alpalpalelaic*.

It may be said in conclusion that although the Bella Coola have indefinite ideas concerning the exact form and functions of this last element, there is a firm belief that an individual's fortune in life depends upon the activity of spirit, tally post, and wash-basin. With regard to supernatural elements as a whole, it is clear that in spite of somewhat conflicting beliefs concerning the precise functions of each, they play an important part in the life of every Bella Coola.

Means of Propitiation

Some of the methods employed by the Bella Coola to gain the favour of the supernatural have already been mentioned, but the subject is sufficiently important to warrant a separate section. In view of the omnipresence of supernatural beings and powers, and their influence on the lives of mortals, it is not surprising that the propitiation of them is a vital factor in human life. The chief means are prayer, sacrifice, and the observance of ceremonial chastity.

PRAYER

Prayers are regularly addressed to *Alqunûm* who, in this connection, is known as *Mesakaic* or *Tâtâ*, both meaning, "Father." A wise man or woman desiring success in hunting, in love affairs, in the acquisition of wealth, or in any activity whatsoever, is accustomed to ask *Mesakaic* to grant his desire. No ritual is required. The petitioner merely seeks a lonely

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Ceremonial chastity is considered almost a necessity to hunters, and in former years a man would rarely, if ever, set out to seek game without fortifying himself by at least several days of continence followed by washing. In the few cases known of a female assuming the clothing and activities of a male, she has been forced to hire a man to sleep with her on the proper nights before starting to hunt. But hunters are by no means the only ones to observe ceremonial chastity. If a man wants to build a salmon-weir, it is by this means that he makes himself strong enough to succeed; if he plays cards, good fortune is sought in the same fashion. The guests at a potlatch observe ceremonial chastity so that their host may not forget them in his distribution of presents, the host, that his guests may arrive on time. The *haxiat* dancer thus fortifies himself for the performance of a dangerous ritual. In this way a man experiences dreams foretelling the future. In every desire or activity of life, ceremonial chastity is a potent means of success, not infallible, usually combined with prayer and in many cases with sacrifice, but a background and accompaniment to every means of propitiation. If a man has conspicuous ill-luck, it is because he has failed to observe ceremonial chastity; if he succeeds, it is because he has done so. At the present time there is living in the Bella Coola valley an old white man who for years has ranged the mountains in search of gold; he has been unsuccessful, and the Bella Coola believe that he will never succeed until he observes ceremonial chastity.

The strength which a man may acquire through the practice of this rite is almost limitless. A man may be ailing on account of the leaning of his tally post, but, if he energetically and faithfully observes chastity, it will become straightened, whether supernaturally or through the agency of *Alpaxnäre* is uncertain. After the termination of a long period of continence, a man's spirit is so strong that his friends place their hands on the back of his neck in order to absorb some of the power radiating from his spirit. Ancient myths record how the more force engendered in a man's body by lengthy chastis-

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though they may be to the white man. It is hoped that the preceding illustrations, drawn from recent times, will explain the mental attitude of the Bella Coola better than incidents from folk-lore of the distant past.

Disregarding thoughts which, since they are caused by the spiritual elements of the human body, are ever present, relations with the supernatural may be divided into the following categories:

(1) Appearance of supernatural beings from which neither good nor bad results follow. Strictly speaking, every fleeting sight of a supernatural being belongs to this category, but it will be convenient to describe only experiences of a peculiar kind, such as the Bella Coola call *qwo·skûlewodjutsûts*. Usually manifestations of the supernatural have certain effects; consequently, there are relatively few incidents of this kind recorded.

(2) Supernatural aid vouchsafed to a man or a woman in distress. There are many tales illustrating this, which are told and retold to the children. In most cases the assistance is given to one who has undeservedly, according to Bella Coola concepts, fallen into misfortune.

(3) Supernatural good luck. This may be obtained by anyone, and consists of the acquisition of a supernatural object to attract, not only fish and animals, as if it were a potent bait, but money and goods as well.

(4) Acquisition of shamanistic power, with or without the ability to cure the sick. This may be received from one of two sources:

(a) *Tîmx̣ûlîlûs* or some other supernatural being.

(β) Ghosts, which are likewise supernatural.

(5) Obtaining prophetic powers direct from the supreme god. There are few instances of this, and none that is ascribed to a remote period. It is possible that all examples of this kind can be attributed to indirect Christian influence.

(6) Obtaining power from a supernatural being localized in a particular spot. This usually takes the form of succour when

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She assumed it to be a forest fire, but, when she idly went near to investigate, her amazement was past all bounds at seeing a fine house filled with valuables. Nor was her surprise lessened when she discovered that *'Yeäxdji* was lord of it all. He welcomed her gladly, gave her a hearty meal, and sent back with her some seal meat for her child, only adding that it was to be eaten secretly as he did not wish his father to know of his good fortune.

"But," he added, "I don't mind if you send me any of the people except my father, especially any who were good to me long ago."

The slave woman thankfully carried the meat home to her child. But he, long deprived of proper food, ate so ravenously that night that a lump stuck in his throat and his coughing awoke *Xemo'sala*. The chief pounded the youngster's back until he vomited what was obviously a piece of seal. The slave woman, remembering *'Yeäxdji*'s order, tried to evade her master's questions as to where her son had obtained it, but at last she blurted out the truth, how the abandoned youth had become prosperous.

The slave woman and her friends moved to *Xwiyai*, where *'Yeäxdji* used his power of thought to obtain for them houses filled with everything they could desire. But *Xemo'sala* and those left with him were starving, so that they too were driven to seek his aid, gladly marrying their daughters to him in return for his protection. He rapidly rose to a position of importance, being the husband of both real and fictitious wives, and was even able to provide his elder brothers with mates. Some of the women married to him became almost his slaves, as their families were unable to ransom them.

Supernatural Good Luck

A third manner in which the Bella Coola can come into contact with powers of another plane is through supernatural good luck. This consists in obtaining something from a supernatural being, usually a portion of its slain body, which acts as a bait to fish, mammals, and even to such inanimate articles as blankets or skins. Even a tiny morsel placed on a weir will attract numerous salmon, or if set on a trap will prove an infallible lure to animals. When put in the owner's box, valuables will be attracted to it as steel to a magnet. Thus the fortunate possessor will be able to give many potlatches and to reach a high position in the community. Since this good fortune is

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wrapped up in a specific object it follows that the luck is transmissible; in fact, one of the chief advantages to the man who owns some valuable object is the wealth which he derives from selling a small portion of it.

The Bella Coola term for supernatural good luck is *siye*, meaning, "What is Good." This can come from any being though it is most frequently obtained either from a *mätsqus* or a *sisiutl*. The former resembles a toad of enormous size, with a blazing fire-like glow in its throat; the latter is a double-headed salmon or snake that can travel on land. The person who succeeds in killing one of these creatures can use the carcass as a lure to wealth, if he knows the proper means. The portion must be wrapped in an article that has been in close contact with the slayer, such as a piece of his soiled clothing. This must be kept carefully hidden for one year in a cranny to which no rain can penetrate, and after that it can be used as bait. There is equal potency in a stick or other object which has come in contact with the beast. Great danger is attached to the sight of a *mätsqus* or a *sisiutl*, since death usually follows any incorrect attempt to gain wealth from either. The person who sees one of these creatures feels no ill effects until he draws near a fire, when his stomach bursts. All the Bella Coola agree that if a man has been close to one he can be saved by the use of certain medicines, but the following stories show that there is no clear-cut opinion as to which are the best. In fact, most families have knowledge of a specific cure which they regard as the most efficacious.

The opportunity to obtain supernatural good luck does not come solely to unfortunate individuals; indeed the Bella Coola state that it is fortuitous. It appears, however, that usually the person who is thus favoured is one who has practised ceremonial chastity, or is, through some other means, in a state of cleanliness pleasing to the supernatural. At any rate the danger of seeing such creatures is less to a man who is in a pure condition than to any other. Further, in most cases they are apt to appear to a person whose ancestors have seen one.

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A visitation is not regarded as an inheritable right, but as a tendency; for generations no member of a family may see one of these beasts, but the tradition is preserved, and when one is seen it is recalled that such have been observed by ancestors of the fortunate one. Instances have occurred in which a person has obtained good luck without the tradition of this being in his family, but they are rare. On the other hand, a man may lose the advantage of his possession, even if he own a portion of a *mātsqus* or a *sisiutl*, through failure to observe ceremonial chastity.

Some of the Bella Coola believe that the *mātsqus* and the *sisiutl* are the same animal, which can assume these two forms; others that the two are distinct supernatural creatures. In any case the powers and characteristics ascribed to them are the same. Most families have a tradition regarding the appearance of the one or the other to their ancestors, and the information to be derived from them is always about that particular creature. Hence the details here described are probably not all known to any one individual.

The different types of appearances, and the different types of taboos called forth, should be noted. These are due to failure on the part of the Bella Coola to rationalize the sum total of their concepts. Each man recounts what he believes to have happened to one of his ancestors or friends, irrespective of whether or not the methods used may be in direct contradiction to those employed by someone else on another occasion. A man who has heard of the *mātsqus*, for example, from his father and mother, may describe contradictory means of dealing with the creature, and in each case may affirm that disaster would have followed if the method described had not been carried out. Such lack of co-ordination is typical of the Bella Coola.

According to an elderly Kimsquit man, the *mātsqus* was brought down in the beginning of time by one of his own ancestors, *Omqemkhkhs*. It is to this fact that he attributes his own near approach to one on two occasions. As it is fre-

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quently not until the fourth appearance that a person obtains supernatural good luck, he is still hoping for two more visitations, the second of which he expects to be fruitful. 777 ● 787 *

One day as he was poling up the Kimsquit River he heard a sound resembling thunder proceeding from a log-jam. From descriptions given him by his father, he knew that this must be the voice of a *mātsqus*, but, not having observed ceremonial chastity, he was afraid to investigate, although the sound seemed to follow his canoe for a considerable distance; it only stopped when another canoe approached. From the fact that he alone heard the voice, he knew that it was for him that the creature had come and only the arrival of other people had deterred it from appearing.

On another occasion the same man was close to the nest of a *mātsqus*. He and another hunter were together in the forest above the Dean River and both saw the stone nest behind a waterfall, but for some time each refrained from pointing it out to the other. Towards dusk the first man's attention was called to it by his companion, and they debated on a course of action. Each was desirous of obtaining the benefits to be derived from a successful use of the nest, but each was afraid of the evil consequences should he fail. The friend had observed continence for some time so it was decided that in the morning he should be the one to make the approach; the other man, well versed in these matters, instructed him very carefully what to do. That night both men were too excited to sleep.

Next morning the nest was still in the same place, but the friend hesitated about going up to it, and as they delayed, talking, it vanished in the twinkling of an eye and the opportunity passed.

The nest itself is sufficiently potent to bring good fortune without the *mātsqus*. Not many years ago a man saw one containing a large green egg which he touched with one end of his musket. Then he carefully hid his weapon for one year in a cleft of the rocks where no water could reach it, nor did he mention what he had seen to anyone. When the time had 777 224

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elapsed, he fetched his musket from its hiding-place and again began to use it. Thenceforth he never missed his aim; every shot brought down an animal.

Before the days of muskets good fortune could likewise be obtained by the discoverer of the nest of a *mātsqus*. Each contains small particles of the skin of all animals, including human beings, plucked from them in their sleep by humming birds and toads. The finder must touch the nest with his stick, such as is always carried by hunters, then break it and throw it away, saying as he does so:

"May I see you at . . . tomorrow." This means next year. He names his favourite hunting-ground. The finder must not say anything to anyone about his discovery, and for one year he must observe continence. If he then goes to the locality mentioned, he will there find his stick, the one which he broke when he touched the nest, though it will be invisible to anyone else. Adhering to its end will be four hairs of the *mātsqus*. These he must hide for a year, wrapped in some of his own clothing, taking care that it is an article which he has long worn and which is accordingly saturated with his essence. During this period, too, he must observe continence. Two years after finding the nest, he will be able to hunt with phenomenal success. The knowledge of this proper procedure has been handed down in an ancestral family for many generations.

On the occasion when the two men had seen the nest they continued their journey, each chiding the other for his failure to take advantage of the opportunity put in his path. Before long they saw a footprint where no man had been and knew that it must be that of *Tsalālīl*, the supernatural hunter of mountain goats. In spite of remonstrances, the comrade scraped up a little dirt from the track into his handkerchief. In this he did wrong, especially as he had failed to take advantage of the opportunity presented to him by the nest of the monster toad. That night as the two were encamped a slide came thundering down beside them, and they barely escaped with their lives. Not long afterwards the erring man died,

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insane, a calamity unquestionably due to his recklessness in handling the earth where a supernatural one had trod.

This point illustrates the danger of near approach to a *mätsqus*, a theme well exemplified in the stories in the next chapter. Such perils must be counteracted in diverse ways according to the traditions of different ancestral families. One common method is to seek a lonely spot in the woods and there hollow out a shelter beneath an overhanging rock or fallen tree-trunk where the person who has been exposed to danger must remain for four days, eating nothing and at intervals scrubbing his body with branches of devil's club, spruce, and other rough plants. These protect him from the evil effects of the monster.

Similar in function to the *mätsqus*, and equally dangerous to the unwary, is the *ssiutl*. The latter is supposed to have been created on this earth, at Bella Bella, in the beginning of time by *Yulätimut*. It was at first the canoe made by this carpenter, and then turned loose by him to range the mountains and fiords, as it has ever since, equally at home on land and in water, and in various forms. The following is a typical description of the manner in which a *ssiutl* appeared in the past.

Long ago a man was hunting in the mountains when he saw a salmon, which changed in an instant to a fish-like monstrosity with two heads but no tail. He lunged at it with his stick, and in so doing started a slide which carried the salmon down the mountain. As this was taking place, the hunter said:

"Go down the mountain, salmon; I will get you at the bottom."

When he reached the foot of the new slide he saw the fish lying clear on the stones. He cut it up and slung it on a cedar-bark rope. Now this salmon was a *ssiutl*, the first that had ever been seen, and the hunter obtained supernatural good luck from his experience. He also took the name of *Ssiutl*, a designation which has been handed down until recently.

After this adventure many people hunted for the *ssiutl*, and with fair success in early days, but now it cannot be found,

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777 owing to the failure of hunters to observe ceremonial chastity.
* 787 When obtained, a *sɔiutl* was cut into small pieces, one of which
[789] worn upon the person would make the flesh so hard that an arrow could not penetrate.

[776] Sometimes the *sɔiutl* assumes the form of either a spring or a cohoe salmon. Not long ago a Bella Bella man, travelling in a canoe, ate one of these. Once devoured, it reformed itself, made its way out by consuming the man's lower jaw, then jumped overboard and was lost.

The mere appearance of a *sɔiutl* does not necessarily bring misfortune to the beholder, even if he has not the necessary knowledge, or courage, to take advantage of it. The following is an instance.

On one occasion the father's father of a middle-aged Bella Coola was going upstream at the time the salmon were jumping, when, unknown to him, one leaped into the canoe behind him. His first knowledge of anything untoward came to him when the bow rose out of the water, and, looking around, he saw that this was caused by the weight of a grease-covered stone lying in the bottom of his canoe; the salmon had vanished. The man threw overboard his floor-board with the stone on it. When he told his friends afterwards of his experience, they informed him that he had missed an opportunity for obtaining supernatural good fortune, as the "salmon" must have been a *sɔiutl*.

789 The *sɔiutl* can also be used as a charm. If a man, while in
[776] a pure condition through the observance of ceremonial chastity, eats a small portion of the flesh, it renders him proof against bullet or arrow. An intelligent Bella Coola stated that his father's brother had done so on one occasion, with the result that a bullet, fired by his wife's mother's father, fell harmless at his feet after striking him.

278 Medicine can also be obtained indirectly from a *sɔiutl*.
776 When one of these fish-like creatures swims through a pond,
824 wriggling as it goes, it frequently sheds some of its scales.

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These become lilies (of the species known as *lälkänelp* or *walilikwätsälätsäläts*, "The most potent of the pond") from the roots of which a tonic can be brewed. They can be collected by anyone, and the places where they grow are well known, but certain rules must be followed. Before reaching the pond the gatherer must find four spruce saplings, cut from each a bough projecting eastward, and lay these two by two, beside the water, with a space between. After plucking the lily roots he must place them on the ground between the spruce branches and tie the whole into a bundle with strips of dyed and undyed cedar-bark. He must be careful to wind these wrappings clockwise. On arriving at the house where the tonic is to be prepared, the bundle must be thrown in through the smoke-vent, never carried through the door. After these precautions the medicine can be prepared with safety. The roots are cut into thin slices and boiled for four days; a sick person then drinks several cupsful of the brew, which is particularly good for the blood. This remedy is especially effective if the patient is observing ceremonial chastity. The person administering the potion sees to it that the one being treated conforms to certain regulations for forty days. He must not eat fresh meat, fresh salmon, or any food prepared by a widow or a catamenial woman; he must not approach too closely a girl who is secluded following puberty, and he must observe absolute continence, not even sleeping with his wife. Death follows the breaking of any of these taboos.

Although supernatural good fortune is most frequently obtained from either a *mätsqus* or a *sisiutl*, it can be derived from other supernatural beings. In such cases the acquisition is seldom dangerous. The following tale describes the *qokän-i*.

Long before the coming of the white man, but very long after the first people came to this earth, a certain Kimsquit man, *Wikwanuil*, who was also called *O'mätil*, was snaring mountain goats on Mount *Tcopinätil* when he heard on the upper slopes a peculiar cry which he recognized, from descriptions given him by the old people, as the note of a *qokän-i*.

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This is a supernatural bird about the size of a crow, with a broad hooked beak and blue-black iridescent plumage. Its note resembles that of a swan. The peculiarity of the bird is that its flesh and bones are of mountain goat grease; even its droppings are of this valuable substance, and it is these which are specially prized. Long ago *ɢoḵăn-i* were comparatively common, but all have now fled beyond the range of the white man's rifle.

Wikwanuil knew what to do, so he crept stealthily up the mountain armed only with his hunting stick. Presently he saw a *ɢoḵăn-i* feeding on a mountain goat which had been caught in one of his snares. It answered to the descriptions *Wikwanuil* had heard, and he could see that its droppings were like solidified mountain goat grease. The hunter crawled near, and took advantage of the instant when the bird was within the goat's stomach to leap forward and club it as it looked up. *Wikwanuil* twisted the neck until the head separated from the body and flung the former behind him, to the right, without noting where it went. This enables the bird to return since, like all other living creatures, when it seems to die it does no more than shed its cloak of flesh. Then the hunter cut the body into halves, threw the right portion in the same direction as the head, and carefully tied the left half in his cape of cedar-bark. Next he collected the droppings and wrapped them in evergreen boughs. Carefully carrying his treasures, he went down the mountain, and hid them in a niche cut in the trunk of a cedar tree, before he went home.

Next day, *Wikwanuil* did not hunt but returned to the place, drew out the piece of the bird's body, and dried it over a fire, as if he were toasting salmon for winter use. At night he went home, still refraining from telling anyone what he had done. For four days he cured the meat, then carefully closed the niche and went away.

For one year *Wikwanuil* did not hunt. Then he reopened the recess and saw that the meat was fresh and juicy, as if newly prepared. He left it in place, but drew forth the droppings and carried them off in a small bag. Fortune followed him. By using a small piece of the solidified grease on his traps he had wonderful success. At length *Wikwanuil* told his fellow-villagers what he had obtained and they were envious of his good luck. He continued to prosper, and at last sold the droppings for a large amount of goods, though he carefully preserved the section of the body itself. When an old man, he showed his son where it was concealed and the latter likewise prospered throughout his life, owing to this possession. When he became old, he in turn told his son about it, so that the young man had the same good fortune as his father and grand-

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father. But the great-grandson was too lazy to take the trouble of going with his father to the place where the section of the bird was hidden, so the treasure was lost. 777● 787 *

A fourth giver of supernatural good fortune is one of the mythical creatures termed *snusx*. This variety lives in the ocean, or rarely in rivers, and can occasionally be seen resting on the surface with its long, golden tresses floating on the water. The hair appears always to be flecked with eagle down, but in reality it is a mass of barnacles, the equivalent of this substance to this under-sea dweller. If the observer is brave, he will paddle cautiously near until he can twist a lock of the hair around his paddle and break it off. He must not touch it with his hands, but must dangle it outside the canoe, still wrapped about his paddle, until he reaches the shore, when he must conceal it in some lonely place for one year. After that period he can use a single hair, or piece of one, as bait; it will be enough to attract animals to his traps or salmon to his weir, exactly as with the mountain goat grease excrement of a *qɔ̀ɔ̀w·i* or a stick that has come in contact with a giant toad. If the person who has jerked off the hair with his paddle should be foolish or ignorant enough to bring his spoil into his canoe, he, and all with him, are rendered incapable of movement and the craft with its occupants sinks beneath the sea. [539] [224] [776] [224] [226]

The father's cousin of an informant once saw one of these animals when paddling in company with several companions to Kimsquit. The sea was smooth as glass when their attention was attracted by a number of small ripples, spreading in a half-moon shape from what they realized was the head of a *snusx*. The hair crossed the ripples, but did not rise or fall with them. The back of the animal's head was nearest the canoe so the opportunity seemed favourable for obtaining some of its hair. Cautiously the men paddled nearer, but at the last moment the steersman feared to drive the canoe in among the golden tresses, so veered off and the craft passed along one side of the mass of hair. The animal had shown no sign of being aware of their presence, but it now began to turn away,

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● 777 * 787 so that its floating locks remained between them and its head. As it turned, the hair moved with it, so that, although the impression remained of a floating mat, there must have been some motive power to cause it to remain streaming out straight behind. Each strand moved through the ripples without being affected. Though the paddlers strained to the utmost to see the animal's face it thwarted their efforts by this continuous slow turning, until at last they went on their way, disappointed.

539 777 * 787 226 [776] Yet another creature from which supernatural good fortune has been obtained is the Mother of Snakes, a creature described in the following story.

A family living at *Nalivar* was reduced to the point of starvation through the failure of their salmon-weir. It seemed as if the fish avoided it. One day a son of one of the owners, who had been in trouble with a woman in the lower valley, went off into the woods not far from his village, where he saw what he thought was a black bear. When it came nearer he realized that its chest was tipped with silver and that its tongue kept shooting far beyond its jaws; hence that it must be the Mother of Snakes. This creature combines the qualities of bear and snake; it is about the size of the former, and it appears to have a serpent wrapped around its chest. It always pursues mortals and slays them, unless they [784] know the proper means of escape. Luckily, the youth's father had long ago warned him what to do if chased by one, so he at once dashed off. First he ran downhill, but the animal gained on him; then he ran uphill, but still the monster drew nearer. The only way the fugitive could increase his lead was by ascending or descending in zigzags, since the brute's heavy legs then kept slipping. All day the pursuit continued, until towards dusk, when the youth was almost exhausted, he saw at last what he was looking for, a stump with splinters, projecting upwards. Pushing these apart with his hands, he leapt through the opening thus made, then circled the tree once sunwise, and pulled away one of the jagged spikes. Now the Mother of Snakes must always follow directly in the tracks of its quarry, and as it jumped through the passage the youth struck it across the back with the splinter which he had pulled out. Down fell the monster dead.

With his knife the lad cut off some of the animal's meat which he carried home, saying nothing to his father. Early the next morning the old man went to look at his salmon-weir, but as usual it was empty. As soon, however, as his son drew near, the river became packed with salmon, all heading towards the trap which was soon filled.

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"It seems as if you attracted the salmon like a magnet," said the father to his son.

The latter did not answer immediately, but later he said:

"You were right," and he told him what had happened.

"You have obtained supernatural good luck," the old man replied simply.

Following his son's instructions the father prepared canoes and boxes to bring back the flesh of the Mother of Snakes. They collected every scrap of it, which they preserved very carefully, and used small portions as bait to attract salmon to their weir with such success that they became wealthy.

Another supernatural being from whom supernatural good fortune may be obtained is *Skwanāt·ān·a*, "The Female Mourner." When a chief dies she comes to wail, wandering through the woods near the village, where sometimes she can be seen in the form of a weeping woman. As she cries, she ejects mucus from her nose, which solidifies into a glass-like substance about a foot in length. Anyone who sees her should take the transformed mucus, and wrap it in some article of his own clothing; it will bring him good fortune. About midnight of June 21, 1922, the infant daughter of a Bella Coola died, and about seven o'clock on the following morning the wailing was heard[1] in the woods behind the missionary's house. The brother of the dead child's father rushed off to try to find the weeping one. Luckily he did not succeed, because he did not know about collecting the mucus, and trouble would have come to him had he seen the supernatural being without knowing how to deal with it; in fact, even to hear *Skwanāt·ān·a* is considered an omen of death.

It will be seen from the foregoing specific instances that supernatural good luck is usually obtained by the slaying of some powerful creature. But, since every living creature is endowed with superhuman power, it follows that any object obtained from a bird or an animal that has acted in a peculiar way may be the cause of supernatural good fortune if it be kept for one year in the manner previously described. Some-

[1] Since the Bella Coola believe that it was heard, the incident is recorded as a fact.

li McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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777 * 787 [224] times a man finds a piece of the thick bark of the fir in one of his traps; if he throw it away nothing happens, but if he conceal it in a hidden cranny for one year and then use it for bait he will have supernatural good luck. Another bringer of good fortune is a giant crab, about two feet in diameter, sometimes found far in the forest. There is no danger attached to the appearance of either of these manifestations of the supernatural, which have merely the potential ability to bestow good fortune if the person seeing them knows and practises the proper ritual.

777 * 787 224 Sometimes, long ago, when a number of seals were seen approaching the shore a man would notice that they were peculiar. One would disappear beneath the surface, to emerge as a beaver, the beaver would vanish beneath the waves only to come up as a bear, a mountain goat, a deer, or some other animal. If a hunter wished to have phenomenal success at goat hunting, for example, he would wait until one of the seals appeared as a goat and then kill it. The carcass would drift ashore, as a seal, but on being cut open a stone shaped like a mountain goat would always be found in the stomach. To obtain success the hunter would wrap this in a piece of worn clothing, and hide it away beneath an overhanging ledge in some lonely spot in the woods. If left there for one year the stone became a magnet, and its owner, carrying it with him on his hunting expeditions, had amazing success. He had obtained supernatural good fortune, for one particular object. If, after cutting open the seal-mountain goat, the hunter failed to wrap up the stone in some of his clothing it vanished of its own accord.

The last Bella Coola to have supernatural good luck from this source was *Winás*, who died about 1910. His extraordinary success as a hunter was derived from a number of stones which his father had obtained from the stomachs of seals in the form of land animals. His prosperity ended when he sold his collection of stones to a Bella Bella man who still uses them with great effect.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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Supernatural good fortune has also been obtained from the "Mothers" of certain plants. 777 824

Among the roots that are sought for when a man intends to give a potlatch are those of clover and of *okál*, a grass which grows on flats near the sea. Once the aunt of an elderly (in 1923) Bella Coola woman dug up the Mother of *Okál*, a root, thick as her thumb, but shaped like a woman. Perhaps the reason that she found it was because she was digging in the darkness, after the setting of the sun. The woman, ignorant of the proper procedure, did nothing, with the result that her hands became painfully swollen. If she had wrapped the root in a portion of her used clothing and kept it hidden for one year, without saying anything about her find, it would have brought her supernatural good luck. [556] [53]

Another woman found an elderberry as large as a baseball, and shaped like the mask worn above the forehead by a member of the *nusuk* society. Her father, an old man skilled in such matters, wrapped the berry in his daughter's soiled clothing and kept it carefully hidden in her box. It brought her supernatural good luck because, no matter how much or how often she gave away presents, goods always came to her.

SUPERNATURAL GOOD LUCK FROM STONES

Stones are among the objects from which supernatural good luck can be obtained. A person who has long observed ceremonial chastity may be fortunate enough to hear what seems to be the weeping of a new-born infant, as he passes in his canoe beneath some steep ocean cliff. Then, if he watches, he will see a stone being born from a larger one at the level of the sea. If the observer takes the infant-stone, wraps it in his soiled clothing and stores it among his possessions, it will act as other bringers of supernatural good fortune by luring all kinds of valuables to the owner. In fact, such a stone is said to be so potent that if left in an empty box for some time, it will attract enough skins to fill the receptacle. 777 787 823 [785]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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977 787 823 The last appearance of such a stone was in Dean Channel, to the father of an elderly Bella Coola, who was too amazed to take advantage of it. As far as could be ascertained, in 1922 there was only one stone which was regarded by the owner as having brought him good fortune. It had been obtained by one of his elderly relatives who died about 1906. This man had been walking beside the Bella Coola River one spring day when he happened to notice a woodpecker perched on one of the posts supporting an olachen net. Without taking his eyes from it, he idly stooped down and threw a pebble at the bird which flew to the bank, lit on a pile of stones, and became one of them. Realizing that here might be the means of obtaining supernatural good fortune, if properly handled, the man watched for some time, then went forward, picked up the stone, covered it with evergreen boughs and wrapped the whole in a strip torn from the white-man's shirt he was wearing. With the axe he was carrying he cut a recess in a tree, put the object in it and covered the hiding place with the original bark. He said nothing about it, but the stone brought him such good luck that he obtained large quantities of everything desirable.

977 823 In later years the man, after replacing the stone in the hole of the tree, went away to Victoria; when he returned, years later, it was still there. By placing it in his box he again prospered in all his ventures. When an old man the owner presented the stone to a relative who still treasures it. It is red, about a foot in length, shaped somewhat like a human figure without arms or legs, but with a prominent navel opening. See Fig. 2. The owner has kept it for years, hiding it even from his wife and allowing no white man to see it. He had been perfectly willing to have photographs taken of most of his ceremonial objects, but declined to permit this to be done with his valued stone, and carefully hid it in a box after showing it. When he wished to use the transformed bird, it was wrapped in his old shirt, together with a small amount of money or what-

[123]

FIG. 2
Lucky Stone

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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ever object was desired, and then set in a window of his house so that the sun could fall on one uncovered end. The owner firmly believes that this stone has brought him money on various occasions, and will do so again, though whether he expects the coins to be found inside of the wrapping, or merely to come to him in the course of trade is questionable. According to Bella Coola belief, they ought to appear beside the stone, but as this man attributes any good fortune to it, he never has any difficulty in proving its powers.

This stone is also used as a means of increasing the efficacy of prayer. When its owner washes ceremonially in the river before eating in the morning, he rubs it over his body as if it were soap and requests it to make him strong, make him well, grant him his desires, and so forth.

Shamanism

More important to the Bella Coola than any other manifestation of the supernatural is that power which makes an individual either an *ɬáɬɛmala* or an *ɬɬɛ̀ɬɛ̀nkɛtɛ*. The former is a person who, owing to ability granted him by a supernatural being, is able to perform miraculous feats, especially in curing the sick; the latter is one with similar powers obtained from a ghost.[1] It is impossible to translate either of these terms accurately; the designation "shaman" is accordingly used in this monograph to describe both types of supernaturally endowed individuals. The most common and most important method of obtaining such power is from a living supernatural being; a person receiving the boon in this manner will be termed "shaman," and one empowered by a ghost will be known as "shaman from the dead."

The Bella Coola believe that long ago men were so much more powerful than at present, and so close to the supernatural, that all were virtually shamans. The prowess and adventures

[1] Ghosts are, of course, supernatural, but as the Bella Coola distinguish between shamans whose powers are derived from these two sources, it is accurate to follow their example.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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159 in his sleep, and hopes that it will grant him specific supernatural power. He realizes that he could increase the probability of obtaining this by ceremonial chastity, and believes that it would come to him if he went alone to the woods and lay fasting for some time. Another means would be to concentrate his thoughts upon the desired end, but X is too good a Christian to do so; he is in the unhappy position of knowing too much of two religions to be able to practise either unreservedly. Such experiences are not likely to occur to any but a man of high-strung, imaginative temperament, to whom dreams and mental excitements appear especially vivid. X is intensely religious, so that it is easy for him to interpret every phenomenon in terms of the supernatural. It will be noted that most of the dreams just described took place when he was sick, precisely the time when hallucinations are to be expected. They were more coherent than those of most Bella Coola, though the difference is one of degree rather than of kind.

Most dreams are comparatively simple, and the information received in them is intelligible. They come to all, irrespective of rank or prerogative. Nevertheless, it is believed that an inheritable tendency runs in some families; this does not mean that all members of such a group dream constantly, but they are more likely to do so than others. Those occurring at the winter solstice are more carefully observed than at other times, since it is then that the supernatural beings decide events for the coming year and a man's spirit may be able to inform him of what has been decided. Consequently, as soon as *Alquntām* enters *Nusmāl-a*, wise men separate from their wives and concentrate on dreaming, hoping to learn what is in store for them. For instance, if a man sees himself seated before a large pile of goods, he knows that he will have the good fortune to do this during the coming year; on the other hand, if he foresees ill luck, it means that he will be unfortunate. Another time when dreams are especially desired is before the summer solstice when hunters in particular observe ceremonial chastity. This purification not only increases the likelihood of such

1:McDowell E-5 (1922-1924)948
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the people of his own village but those of two neighbouring towns. All accepted, as is customary, irrespective of the amount of food. The carcass was cut up and the guests received such minute portions that they became wildly hilarious over the meagre fare provided and flung many insulting remarks at their host. This was what the lad had planned. Confident of his ability to establish his good name, he desired to make his resurgence more striking by first emphasizing his degradation.

Next day the father and son again went hunting, and this time the lad killed a seal of slightly larger size. Once more he called in his neighbours and again they made sarcastic remarks about his poverty. The succeeding day he killed one large seal, and summoned the people. Next day he slew two seals; the next, four; then eight, sixteen, and thirty-two on successive days. Each evening a feast was held and the heavy distributed. By this time contempt and scorn had been replaced by respectful wonder, and when the hunter returned with his canoe filled with seals everyone was able to eat to repletion. There was a surfeit of the highly esteemed flesh.

The next day the lad brought back his canoe filled with seals, and the same night the people gathered for the usual feast. Now was the time for which the youth had been waiting. When the carcasses had been cut up and cooked, ready for distribution, he made a speech, reminding those present of the manner in which his parents had been "divined," by food thrown at them during feasts, and how they had never actively resented it. Then he intimated that he was about to retaliate. Starting with the chiefs at the upper end of the house, he threw pieces of cooked seal at his guests, nor did he desist until the faces and chests of all had been well spattered with the grease. The people, realizing that it was their own rudeness which was being returned to them, could not defend themselves.

The successful seeker had had a second quantity of seal meat cooked in readiness, which he now distributed to his reviled guests in a gracious manner. In this way he was able to refurbish the prestige of his family. By his lavish donations of seal meat on many occasions, he gained a reputation for generosity which was envied by all."

Stories Illustrating Supernatural Good Luck

THE *Ahkiqus*

Not many years ago two men were canoeing up the Kimsquit River. As one of them paused down with his pole he saw that it had grazed a

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Why is not clear whether or not this story should strictly speaking, be included in this category? Such a sudden access of fortune is unusual a supernatural. It seemed as if the male themselves had given their lives to this lad in his misfortune.

[illegible] 1948
[illegible]

eulachon lying on the stones at the bottom of the river. Realizing his danger, he swiftly hooked the gods on to the shore beneath a huge cedar where no rain could penetrate. There it remained for twenty or thirty years until it had become covered with moss.

One day two sisters chanced to pass that way and the younger wished to gather some of the moss, but the elder, who apparently surmised with what the gods had been in contact, was afraid and tried to dissuade her. The heedless girl picked some of the moss, and threw it towards her elder sister, saying:

"Pshaw! It is nothing."

The moss struck her, and the elder girl, now thoroughly frightened, was determined that if any ill results were to follow, her younger sister should likewise suffer from them. So she, too, gathered some of the moss and threw it on the first picker. Nothing happened until they had gone home and drawn water to the fire when both began to swell. They told what had befallen them, but it was too late to apply any remedy and both continued to expand until their stomachs burst and they died."

THE *Ailiqua* THAT WAS CAUGHT IN A NET

Between 1860 and 1870, a young man, related to the Bella Coola from whom this account was obtained, was netting salmon near Nuxalk. He had caught all that he needed but decided to make one more haul. As he did so, he saw in the water a great canoe with enormous shining eyes and white hair. It was a *ailiqua*. The beast entered the net which sank under its weight. The terrified fisherman plucked up enough courage to haul in his net, and found that the canoe had turned to a stone, the surface of which was covered with grease. He placed it on top of his salmon and went home to summon the people of his own and neighbouring villages to view the wonder. There were ancient traditions about such beasts having been caught in nets, but this was the first time that such a marvel had ever been seen by eyes of the upper coast that thronged the beach. A very old man, well-informed in such matters, now appeared and warned the people to keep away from the space between the stone and the river. No sooner had they obeyed than the whole beach moved in, carrying into the water, canoe, the pile of freshly landed salmon, and the mysterious stone. The old man had heard of a similar occurrence, and his knowledge saved the lives of the onlookers.

[753] [755]

[illegible] The usual explanation given for the burning of the stomach is that some of the fire from the summer fire entered the victim's body, and there increased on cooking close to a blaze. A remedy in the early stages of swelling is said to be the eating of an unsalted walleye duck.

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The fisherman did not obtain supernatural good fortune as a result of his capture, because he neither removed the object nor kept silent about what he had seen.

THE MAN WHO SUCCESSFULLY KILLED A *Nilinpu*

In the village of *Tsele* there lived an old man and an old woman with four grown-up sons. Early one morning the eldest of these saw a sturgeon below the dam at the village and decided to spear it. Armed with a new, sharp-pointed cornus pole he had crept out on the fish-trap, when, not far from it, he saw a toad about the size of a beaver sitting upon the water. He had heard of the power of such beasts, but was ignorant of the proper procedure for obtaining it, so thought he would try the effect of rubbing the end of his pole across its back. But when he thrust it past with this intention, the *nilinpu* jumped from his hand and pierced the toad's body, so that it died. This power of attracting objects to itself was one of the animal's attributes of which the man was not aware. He pulled it ashore with a stick and roused his household, crying:

"Get up! Get up! See what I have slain. I did not intend to kill it but the pole sprang away from me."

Everyone rushed to the bank, and when they saw what was there they exclaimed:

"Why did you do such a thing when there was no one near to advise you?"

One man recommended him to go to an old man named *Sla* who lived at the village of *Inel'anipedy*. It was said that this man understood how to deal with such matters.

This seemed good advice, so the four brothers went all to consult *Sla*, saying to him:

"We have come on very important business."

Sla cut short their speech by replying:

"I know all about it. You have had power come to you. Have you four sailing?"

[illegible] expressing [illegible]

"I have one on this side of the river, and two on the opposite shore. Unless we can fix this up satisfactorily you will die, but if we succeed in doing it correctly you will become wealthy."

The brothers accompanied *Sla* up the slope of a mountain where he had two wolf heads concealed in a box. They took these and went with him to another box concealed on a mountain on the other side of the river where there were two more. *Sla* took the four heads and escorted the brothers back to their village, stopping only to gather some wild gooseberry branches. On these he had the *nilinpu*, for, of course, it was no

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road, with its head to the sun, and told all the spectators to crowd in front of it, while he seated himself to the westward. Apparently, the wounded so dismember the creature, and the people wondered how he would do it, because they saw no cutting tool. However, when ready he reached behind him and took a keen knife with sharp edges. It was a solid keen which seemed to have come there for his purpose. With this he cut the octopus into four longitudinal sections, starting each from the mouth. He separated these pieces and instructed a carpenter to make immediately four boxes to fit the sections, with a small hole in one of the lower corners of each. When these were ready, he placed in each one of the strips of flesh and one of the wolf heads. He then told the brothers to put two of the boxes on a seacoast to the right of the river, the other two on one to the left, placing each so that the corner with the hole in it should be at the south-west, where no water could enter. Then the men went home.

The venturous brought wealth to the brothers. First the eldest began to prosper, and within a year gave four potlatches. After that he began to have pains in his side; his skin were every and he died. This was because water had penetrated the box designated as his.

These wealth began to flow in upon the second brother without effort on his part. He too gave four potlatches within a single year, but the water penetrated his box and he also died, after suffering similar pains in his side. The third and the fourth brothers experienced precisely the same fate; each became wealthy after his senior's death, and each died when, after giving four potlatches, the water entered his box.

THE MAN WHO SOUGHT A MIRACLE

Within the lifetime of an old Bella Coola, Snaw, a Tsi'ai man, and Pigaila, a Bella Coola who had a reputation for making evil medicines, men met fishing together for halibut. Pigaila hooked something which he tried to land in, but it was so heavy that he was making slow progress when suddenly a mass of water rushed from his body, by which sign he knew that it was a miracle. He continued to haul in his line until the creature came in sight. It resembled a seal, but was large as a bear and had in its throat a burning fire. Such beasts had been found before on several occasions, and in their stomachs had always been valuable stones.

As the miracle came near the surface the canoe began to spin round as if caught in a whirlpool. Pigaila, terrified, let out his line, not daring to try to land in the animal, but presently the hooked miracle rose reluctantly to the surface and Snaw said to his companion:

"Don't drop your line; it has come for me."

"All right, take it," Pigaila replied.

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He passed his line to the *snaker* without ever glancing behind him. The two men paddled slowly; the shore, towing the *mētqas* astern, its goggle eyes blinking, but when they reached the beach it jumped violently above the water and fell back with a splash that drenched *Sisaxt*. The bank pulled out and the *mētqas* escaped.

Pigatla understood what *qet* be done under the circumstances. He went home but without going there walked on into the forest, taking care not to look back. When he came to a rotten log he dug under it until he had collected and ate four white slugs with black and white bands. He covered up the hole he had made, then continued his journey till he came to another log (2) which he likewise dug four and devoured them. He concealed the *cqa* of his digging and went on to a third, thence to a fourth, in each *qa* eating four slugs and covering the hole. Had he not done concealed *k* work, his anus would have rotted away.

Pigatla remained for fourdays in the woods, constantly using his magical herbs, and so duly escaped evil effects. But the unfortunate *Sisaxt* went to his home, told his neighbours about what he had seen, and sat down beside the fire. Presently his stomach burst and he fell dead. When four days had passed, *Pigatla* returned to the village, carefully avoiding the road, (*if* he had travelled on that he would have died. Everybody told him / the death of his companion, which he explained by saying that *they* must have been ignorant of the proper method of dealing with a *mētqas*. *If* he had known that, he, *Pigatla*, would never have passed the *qa* to his friend, whom he imagined would not have called for it had he *qa* been aware of how to deal with the beast.

THE TRAPS OF A *Mētqas*

About 1880 a widowed *qa* named *Sisaxtlala* set his traps for beaver in Lake Kwah. He had left them when, to his surprise, because it was daylight, he heard a splash and a struggle and turned back to find a beaver caught in his trap. He killed the animal, skinned it, and again set out for home. He had gone scarcely twenty yards when he again heard a scramble, was overcome to find another beaver in his trap. This one he also killed and skinned, and again left the place. A third time a beaver entered his trap as soon as he left it, and he dealt with this in the same fashion, as well as with a fourth which appeared. By this time he realized that there was something uncanny about the occurrences, and, therefore, declined to turn back for a fifth which he heard splashing in his trap as soon as he had moved away after skinning the fourth. That night *Sisaxtlala* and his children ate the game.

Next morning when he returned to the lake wherein his traps were set he found it to be a cauldron. Waves were raging on it as *if* it were the

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ocean, although there was no wind. He was thirsty and bent down to scoop up a little water in his hands, which he drank. Then he made a small raft on which to go out to the trap where he had caught the four beaver the preceding day. In it he saw a *mēmyas*, like a toad but big as a bear, and with a throat that glowed with fire. *Ēsentāiele* made all speed back to the bank, but fell in a faint as he reached it, with his head barely out of the water. He lay there all day, but towards dusk recovered sufficiently to stagger away. He rocked and reeled as if he were drunk, but kept in mind what he had been told by the old people about avoiding the trail. Near home he shouted for *Nēlendzew'*, an old man well versed in such matters, and when the latter came to him *Ēsentāiele* said:

"I have seen what you told me about."

Nēlendzew' took hammer and wedges and led the way to a pine sapling which he split vertically, so that *Ēsentāiele* could pass through it. The sufferer followed the old man to three other trees which he wedged apart in like fashion, and through which *Ēsentāiele* passed. Then *Nēlendzew'* bade him build a small shelter with a platform where *Ēsentāiele* stayed for four days, while *Nēlendzew'* fumigated him in the smoke of a fire made of four thorny medicinal plants.

For two whole years *Ēsentāiele* remained in this rude shelter, unable to move more than a few steps on account of the sickness which had entered his body with the water he had drunk. At the end of that time he was able to move around with a stick, and ultimately he recovered.

Ēsentāiele failed to derive any benefit from the sight of a *mēmyas*, because he had been afraid to take advantage of it. A brave man, strengthened by the observance of ceremonial chastity, would have touched the creature's back with the end of his pole, would have hidden this carefully, and in one year he would have begun to show remarkable success as a hunter. *Ēsentāiele* escaped from death because he had avoided walking along a road traversed by unclean women; if he had done so while he had within him some of the mysterious power of the great toad, imbibed in drinking from the lake, he would have perished. The cure practised in this case was peculiar, since usually the approach of a patient to a fire causes his stomach to burst.

THE MAN WHO ATE A *Sūsiutl*

Four brothers were hunting mountain goats when they came to a place, *Nēnēlēnk*, where the animals congregated for mating. At one edge of a level stretch the ground fell away, sheer as a precipice, and the eldest brother conceived the brilliant idea of spreading over the brink of this deep a number of slippery, outside planks of cedar. These they laid with the rounded side on the ground, so that they would tip when a goat stepped

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on them and threw the animal to the ground far below. They covered the planks with moss, to disguise the trap, and then awaited results. It was mating time and when a she-goat slipped and fell over, all the males, thinking she had jumped down to elude them, leapt off in pursuit and were killed also. This method of hunting proved so successful that with the valuable wool obtained the four brothers were able to give many potlatches and became chiefs. During the summer they carefully concealed the slippery boards, fearing that someone might see them and copy the ruse.

Not long after they had thus become wealthy the four brothers chanced to be hunting on the distant side of the mountain, where there were a number of small streams flowing into a lake with no outlet to the sea. The eldest was some distance from the others when they saw some spring salmon in one of the rivulets. The second brother touched one of these fish on the neck with his hunting stick, and at once it jumped on the land and flopped about, shedding its scales. In spite of the unusual behaviour of the salmon, combined with its presence in an inland stream, the three hunters were not suspicious, so they killed and cooked it. As the fish was roasting before the fire the eldest brother returned and, noticing that its flesh was still quivering, burst out in wrath:

"What do you mean by killing a salmon in a place like this? Where could the fish have come from? Don't you remember what our father has told us so often? It must be a *sxiaxi* which you have killed and soon you will die."

"You are always afraid of something," said the second brother, laughing. "It is just an ordinary spring salmon, and as I am hungry I am going to eat it."

The third brother agreed with the second and the two devoured the fish, but the youngest heeded the advice of the eldest and would not touch it. Soon after eating, the stomachs of the two rash men split. As they lay dying the eldest said to them:

"It is your own fault. I warned you, but you have always been too headstrong."

The dying men agreed before they died. The eldest and youngest brothers went home, where their father was grief-stricken when they told him of the deaths of his other two sons.

Such deaths resulting from the eating of a *sxiaxi* are not uncommon. A man will sometimes find in the forest dried skins of sockeye salmon, or the heads of spring salmon, which are in reality *sxiaxi* that have assumed this form, and if the finder eats them he will die. A few years ago a

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Bella Bella man was fishing when a salmon jumped into his canoe and died at once, without the usual flopping and struggling. The fisherman took it home and ate it, though his wife refused to touch it, as being uncanny. Presently the man's lower jaw became diseased and he lost his teeth. The salmon must have been a *sutsaĕ*.[1]

The mere sight of a *sutsaĕ* does not bring the misfortune which follows the killing of one by faulty means. On the other hand, if slain in the proper manner great good fortune will result. One method is to put a stick near it in the water, whereupon the fish will jump ashore and flop around, shedding its scales. The hunter should then kill it and, crouching down, say:

"I wish I had a salalberry leaf, or a piece of dead alder."

Both of these have sharp-cutting edges. If he then puts his right hand behind him, whichever he has asked for will be there, though no one knows how it comes. Then he must cut the fish lengthwise into two parts, throw away the right half and the head, wrap the left in his cape,[2] and run from the spot, taking care to go neither up nor down hill. Soon a landslide will take place, sweeping away the ground on which he has stood, even though it be level. He must hide the half *sutsaĕ* in a hole in a cedar tree for one year without saying anything about his treasure. During this period he must not hunt or embark on any other important enterprise.

When the year has elapsed he may tell the people of his experience and sell tiny fragments of the *sutsaĕ* for large sums. The purchasers wrap these fragments in cedar-bark and with them dash fish-weirs and traps, thus attracting animals and fish. A man obtaining a *sutsaĕ* in this way can show his children where it is concealed, and so transmit his power to them.

THE CATCHING OF A *Sutsaĕ*

Not many years ago, a certain *Oolakin'* constructed an ocean salmon-trap below Kimsquit. One moonlight night he saw in it a white, gleaming salmon and at once jumped to the conclusion that it was a *sutsaĕ*. Being a wild, reckless fellow, he determined to try to obtain supernatural good fortune from his prey, though he was ignorant of the proper procedure. Waiting until the receding tide had almost laid bare the floor of his pen, he leapt down from the weir and clubbed the salmon to death, heedless of the snake which it was shedding in all directions. Then *Oolakin'* cut it

[1] It appears that the fishermen was a victim of *yowahano*, in consequence of which his teeth were converted by a demon, but the picture is continued that his misfortunes are due to the salmon which entered his canoe.

[2] The left of anything is said to be more valuable than the right because when a man dances it is the left side which is nearer the sun.

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into strips, using his ordinary knife, and returned home, where he sat down near some women and close to the fire. Before long he began to feel ill; his stomach grew larger and larger, and finally split in various places so that the raw flesh could be seen. No shamans could help him and within a year he was dead.

STORIES ILLUSTRATING SHAMANISM

THE FORTUNES OF Ḵwaɬ-a

Ḵwaɬ-a was a blind man about thirty years old who lived with his wife at the head of Rivers Inlet. Before he had lost his sight he had been a successful hunter, but now he could no longer provide for her and they were often on the verge of starvation. One autumn the two had gone some little distance from the village to a small creek in which the women were fishing with a gaff for the dying salmon that had spawned and were too feeble to escape. As Ḵwaɬ-a sat beside her, his wife saw a large black bear on the other side of the creek, coming down to the water to fish. She told her husband, who bade her fetch his bow and arrow. When she had brought them, wondering what he intended to do, he told her to point the arrow at the bear; he was going to shoot. She obeyed; as Ḵwaɬ-a felt the taut bow-string beneath his fingers he almost forgot that he was blind; the art of the hunter had returned to him. He heard the arrow; it struck the bear, killing it instantly, without a sound, but his wife knew, talking how she had missed it, and mocking him for his failure, with the intention of securing all the meat for herself. As soon as an opportunity presented itself she slipped away, skinned the animal, and soon had the flesh cooking before the fire.

Ḵwaɬ-a smelt the cooking.

"I must have killed meat," he said.

"You did," his wife replied. "What are you talking about? You can't shoot."

While the woman again turned away to superintend her cooking, a supernatural being, who had seen Ḵwaɬ-a's misfortunes, took pity on him and rubbed his hands over his eyes, restoring their sight. As he gazed around, amazed at his good fortune, he saw his wife bending over a box in which bear meat was boiling, greedily eating the grease which she skimmed from the surface of the water. He was so angry at her meanness that he crept up behind her, unnoticed, and thrust her head down into the boiling liquid where he held her until she ceased to struggle. She was dead. Then Ḵwaɬ-a tore her clothing, her flesh, even her bones, into small fragments which he scattered to the winds in all directions.

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suspend the bundle by ropes from a stick which projected horizontally from the wall. It was to these ropes that *Kalóka* tied the bangles, so that they jingled with every movement of the child.

Alpaxwíne heard this peculiar noise from his house in the land above and sent a *Hápmā-ás*, a diminutive supernatural being of human form, which flew on air, to investigate. The creature perched in the cradle rope where *Kalóka* saw it. Owing to his former life in the land above he knew what it was, and how to deal with it, so he quickly threw over it a blanket which he had frequently used.* This brought him supernatural good fortune. He concealed the *Hápmā-ás* for safety in an old chequer-work mat sack, and left it lying on the floor.

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Wealth flowed in upon him so that he was able to give a potlatch every year. At one of these he gave his eldest daughter, the occupant of the cradle, the name *Tlápmā-ás*, which has been handed down from generation to generation, and has recently been given to a Bella Bella child. *Kalóka*'s prosperity roused the jealousy of his fellows so that they murdered him, but his children still had the *Hápmāks* and they continued to prosper. At last their enemies slew them too, sparing only one small boy.

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This orphan led a precarious existence. He was refused admission to what had been his father's house and was forced to live in the space between the floor and the ground below, while his food was taken from the refuse heaps. In time he grew to young manhood, frequently brooding on the fate of his relatives and hoping for revenge. One day he crossed the river, ascended a mountain, and found there a large cave, where he lay down to sleep, wrapped in a bear-skin. A supernatural being came to him.

"I have watched your woes," said the stranger, "and I will help you if you are brave. You must accompany me to my land. The road is dangerous, and if you should lose me it would be disastrous to you, so keep close."

They took a difficult path down through the earth to the land of the dead below.

"I will keep you here for a night and watch you," said the supernatural one as he gave the boy a stick in which was power.

"You must take this," he said, "and go at night to your father's house. Throw the stick at one of those who killed your father. It will rebound to you, after having your enemy dead without a mark on his body. Do this every night, killing only one man at a time, until you have slain all the murderers, but be careful not to harm anyone else."

Although he had not at first revealed himself, the being from whom

* If any one would have been useless.

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CHAPTER XI

MEDICINE, MAGIC, TABOO[1]

Introductory — Causative Medicines — Preventive and Curative Medicines — Sorcerers — Taboos — Ritual Acts — Miscellaneous Beliefs

Introductory

THE beliefs described in the last chapter are essentially religious since they display an attitude of respect and often of propitiation to supernatural powers having greater strength than human beings. This is self-evident in the earlier sections and, though less noticeable, is present also in ideas concerning shamans since these men have themselves acquired ability placing them on a plane slightly removed from that of their fellows. Theoretically, it seems as if a clear division might be drawn between the concepts just recorded, and others of a magical nature in which, although the element of contact with the supernatural is present, yet the end desired is obtained by the mere performance of an action. To the Bella Coola there is a slight overlap between the two types. For example, the acquisition of an object from which supernatural good fortune may be secured is religious, but its use is virtually magical since once obtained, neither supplication nor further favours are necessary. Nevertheless, it is possible to separate most magical beliefs from most religious ones, though it must be emphasised that the cleavage is less distinct to the native than it appears to the white man.

If it is difficult to find a clear dividing-line between religion and magic, it is impossible to draw one between the latter and

[1] The late Harlan I. Smith has dealt with certain aspects of the subjects treated in this chapter in two articles: "Sympathetic Magic and Witchcraft among the Bella Coola" (*American Anthropologist*, vol. 27, no. 1, Jan.-March, 1925, pp. 114-121) and "Materia Medica of the Bella Coola and Neighbouring Tribes of British Columbia" (National Museum of Canada, Annual Report for 1927, Bulletin 56, pp. 47-68).

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informant, the entry of a strange spirit into his body does not inconvenience the dancer, although he senses its presence, and asks who will pay for its return. Unless the owner at once steps forward to claim his property and promises to pay, his spirit is thrown into the fire and he dies. The *ḵwḵwaxʷiwa* sometimes tell an uninitiated person that his spirit has been attracted from him, thereby terrifying him so greatly that he appeals to a shaman to recover it for him. The expert greases his hands, warms them at a fire, and pretends to pluck something from the *ḵwaxʷiwa* which he inserts into the loser's neck.

In view of the firm conviction that the spirit is essential to an individual's welfare, it is not surprising that this belief should awe the uninitiated and fill them with profound respect for the *ḵwḵwaxʷiwa*. The diversity in the details of procedure proves that the practice has not become standardized; those who are not members of the society believe and do not test the claims.

Another source of strength claimed by the *ḵwḵwaxʷiwa* is ability to witness and imitate the dances of the supernatural beings held in *Nuxʷmāt-a* prior to the entry of *Ăɬqunăɬm*. As already described, it is believed that a supernatural element from every living creature upon earth ascends at this time but, in a way that is not fully understood, only those belonging to *ḵwḵwaxʷiwa* can take part in the ceremonies. Is it strange, therefore, that members of the society are regarded with awe by their less fortunate fellows? Presents are given after every dance in *Nuxʷmāt-a* and the supernatural elements receive their due share. When, however, *Ăɬqunăɬm* enters, he is so big and so hot that almost all who have assembled rush forth furiously, and in the crush at the narrow doorway disaster overtakes many of the visiting human representatives. Some drop their gifts, and their owners will be unfortunate; others fall, and their owners cannot survive until the next ceremonial season. This same fate may befall even those who are not members of the *ḵwaxʷiwa* society, but they do not have the ability to appreciate what has happened.

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[The Mystery Dance]

what are to be the correct answers? The marshals decide on these, but their judgment really depends on the four remembrancers who are able to tell whether any of the replies they suggest have already been given. When *Saiyuk* performed, the answers chosen were:

Aimahna, "The Coming of Foul Weather." This word is said to be in the language of the supernatural ones. The implication is that this phenomenon of nature is a manifestation of the will of the supreme deity.

Nuxpaate Smaiaitkila, "The Eagle Down *Smaiaitkila*." This has the significance of "The Peace Giving *Smaiaitkila*" since eagle down is a symbol of peace.

Kitlmaatkmem, "The Yawning Chasm." This is the mysterious crevasse which opens before a foolish man when he tries to gain success. In cases where a white man would attribute misfortune to lack of ability or to sheer bad luck, the Bella Coola say that this supernatural chasm has opened before him. It is especially applied to failure in the giving of potlatches.

Scarcely less important than the choice of answers is the second consideration, who is to give them. The uninitiated have been taught that X cannot live unless his riddles are answered, and also that whoever succeeds in solving them can do so only through supernatural assistance. As in the case of a person who finds a repository, so must the one who solves the problem be made a *Smaiat*. This is an opportunity for an influential man with a son of suitable age and character to have him initiated into the society, and an eager parent can always be found. He is told the proper answers, and instructed to whisper them to his son the following evening. It is impressed upon the father that this must be done only at the last minute, and that every precaution must be taken to prevent the young man from telling his friends that he has been prompted.

Other matters are arranged at the same time. A shaman must be in readiness to assist in binding the future member of the society to secrecy, and every detail is worked out with care.

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Kukuxiut send back X's call in the usual manner. Then, two by two, the masks are cast on to the fire and the ceremonial is over.

THE DANCE OF THE TALLY POSTS

As previously described, a tally post is erected in the land above for every Bella Coola at birth. As long as this memorial is upright and firm, the individual to whom it refers enjoys health and prosperity, but if it becomes crooked he falls ill. The uninitiated believe that several *kukuxiut* have the prerogative of climbing to the land above during the ceremonial season and straightening leaning tally posts. This is such a useful ability that it must have exercised great influence on the uninitiated in early days, but the rite has not been properly carried out since the smallpox epidemic in the last century. The following account was obtained from two old men who remembered the manner in which a certain *Qoikuit of Tsimsit* performed a year or two before "The Great Sickness." Neither of the informants was a *kuxiut* at the time, but they were able to supplement their recollections of the dance with what they afterwards learnt when initiated, so the following account is probably accurate in outline though deficient in detail. It will be convenient to refer to the dancer as X, and describe the ceremony in the present tense. It was also performed at Kimsquit many years ago.

The rite resembles *kuxiuxw* dances in many respects. X must obtain the consent of the marshals during the preceding summer, and their permission is refused unless the prospective dancer is a man of proved discretion. If they agree, X asks a number of *kukuxiut* women to help him by making a very long and strong rope of nettle fibre. At intervals the work-women gather for the purpose in the back-room of X's house, taking care that no uninitiated see what they are doing. Every effort is made to ensure that there is no flaw in the rope as a break would be a serious matter, punishable by death.

Near the winter solstice the marshals choose a suitable time

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the guests were plentiful, fat, and unsuspicious, so that before nightfall they had killed four. Well satisfied, they lay down in a cave to sleep for the night. At that time no one knew what supernatural being caused thunder; the earliest inhabitants of the world had possessed that knowledge but it had been forgotten in the intervening generations. Towards midnight the hunters were awakened by a loud boom and wondered what could have caused it. Presently they saw approaching a figure resembling a man, with a weird semi-human face, who carried in each hand a huge rock crystal.* He raised and lowered his arms as if pounding; at each movement the crystals struck each other, producing the booming sound and also emitting a flash of light. The eldest brother, *Sulik*, told the others to cover their faces with their blankets and to keep their eyes closed, because some evil and powerful creature was drawing near. But the second brother, who had caught a glimpse of the two crystals and greatly desired them, watched cautiously, hoping for an opportunity to steal them. Thunder, for it was none other, ranged around; at intervals he passed across to the other side of the intervening valley on a sidewalk which grew before his feet to form a bridge for him, and on it, too, he was able to execute his steps. Several times Thunder crossed and recrossed, accompanied by reverberating peals. He came near the four brothers and danced; then lay down while fire emerged from his mouth. The second brother began to feel scorched, gradually the heat increased, but he was powerless to move; before dawn, when Thunder vanished, he had been roasted to death.

The three survivors buried the dead man in a hastily made grave in the floor of the cave and went home, abandoning the monstrous game which they had killed. *Sulik*, though grieved at the loss of his brother, felt that the latter's death was his own fault for pushing where he had been warned not to do so. Not long afterwards the two younger brothers died. Then the sole survivor told a carpenter to make him a mask [illegible] according to a design which he would describe. [illegible] according to a design which he would describe. In this way the face of Thunder was portrayed in wood. When the mask was ready, *Sulik* wore it and gave an imitation of the actions of his patron; no one had ever seen anything like it and the people were amazed.

No great antiquity is ascribed to this myth and it gives no explanation of questions which at once arise in the investigator's mind. The type is fairly common in Bella Coola; in fact, the only unusual part of it is that the visionary received a *Sulik* prerogative rather than one of the forms of good for-

*This is said to have been equivalent to the knowledge of a Thunder dance.

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tune previously described. To the Bella Coola philosopher, apparently no explanation is needed of the manner in which *Saiks* was allowed to use his experience as the basis of a *kusiut* dance. The assumption is that he was a *kusiut* at the time of his experience, although this is not clearly stated. The last to use the name died about 1910, each *Saiks* having had the prerogative of giving the Thunder dance.

THE GHOST DANCE[1]

Among the numerous patrons of *kusiut* dancers are Ghosts. The term, *Atkunkutt*, applied to a shaman whose power is derived from a ghost, is also applied to *kusiut* with one as patron, but the two functionaries must not be confused. It is a fairly common prerogative and there are Ghost dancers in every village, their right depending in every case on some experience of an ancestor with a ghost. The following is an account of the manner in which *Saptus* of *Temaut* performed his ritual; it may be regarded as typical of all, and the dancer can be referred to as X.

At any time during the ceremonial season X consults with the marshals to decide upon a suitable time for his performance. On the evening preceding, normally the *potlatch* of some other *kusiut*, the marshals state that his call is imminent; X makes his final arrangements and asks the assistance of a number of his fellows.

When the *nalusam* rites of the following evening have been completed and the uninitiated have returned to their own houses, they are startled to hear whistling from the forest near at hand. It is not the instrumentally produced sound that accompanies the coming of a call, but tuneless whistling with the mouth; everyone knows that this is the language of ghosts. A visitation from them is by no means unknown, and always dreaded, so at once there is excitement and everyone cowers in the bedrooms. Presently heralds go through the village

[1] This relationship is implied with the dance of the same name among Indians of other culture areas.

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seldom a chief who had given many potlatches. Successful raiders rarely slew such an one; his position placed him above the dangers to which lesser men were subject.

Raids appear never to have been carried out solely for the purpose of giving warriors opportunities to display their prowess, or of permitting young men to prove their mettle. Scarcity of food was the commonest cause for forays when, of course, the victims were chosen for their accumulated supplies. The Kwakiutl especially, lacking abundance of salmon, often attacked the Bella Coola. Even more dreaded were the Kitkatla, the most warlike people of the central coast, who used to raid for many miles to carry off slaves whom they sold or traded for other commodities. Trespassing, too, was a source of friction which often led to hostility. In such a case, the offenders were usually held up to ridicule at potlatches, and the irritation gradually increased until wiped out in bloodshed. Members of a tribe which had suffered from a raid prompted by any of these motives would await a suitable opportunity for retaliation; this in turn would be avenged, and a vendetta often ensued lasting for generations. As already described, a ceremonial error brought punishment from a neighbouring tribe; this was the only motive which caused fighting between different Bella Coola villages. In the last century there was a struggle of this kind between the people of *Ilnuc* and *Alpálcut* in which the former were victorious and took many slaves who were later ransomed. When ill-luck had dogged a village or a group of villages for some time, the inhabitants sometimes endeavoured to wipe out their misfortunes by attacking another tribe.

The teeming salmon at Bella Coola, Kimsquit, and *Tálio*, made it unnecessary for the Bella Coola to wage aggressive war for which they were unfitted both on account of their unmilitary attitude and their lack of central authority. On the other hand, they were tempting victims for more belligerent neighbours. The narrow Bella Coola valley, however, far removed from the open sea, and densely populated, was difficult to attack.

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Nowatzgymax: Woman endowed supernaturally by *Awi'lāxaulaxs* and serving as patron (?) to a *Ixcixt* dancer.

nuxalilaic: Omen of death.

Nuxatxmukmuxm, "The One Who Is Thought Of": One of *Nūsqaliłaxs*'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.

Nuxcxemlaic: 1—Man dwelling in *Kemaqma*'s house.
2—*Ixcixt* name of a Kimsquit woman.

nuxsqaix: The cry of *hi, hi*, uttered by Cannibals.

Nuxscxmay: *Ixcixt* name assumed by a *Sisaa* woman in the beginning of time.

nuxsyaxwaix: *Ixcixt* with right to display a puppet-patron. The difference, if any, between this and *galaxaix* is obscure.

Nu'xwaalkumaxsis, "The Widower": One of Raven's names as child.

nuqkaxcixlaix: Synonym for *ḥaxaixaix*: Payments made by the wife's relatives to those of the bridegroom on first arrival outside his house on the wedding day. They are said to be in return for "Food" received from them on many occasions.

Nuqtaxcixlaix, "Handbreadth Deaf": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

nuqwxaxaix: The binding, by a warrior, of his hair into a cap-knot.

nuqxalaix c: Medicine brewed in a shell.

Nuqxyaxaix, "Place of Much *Qaqwaxw*": Village in the middle Bella Coola valley.

Nuqxyaxaix: *Ixcixt* name of a Kimsquit man.

Nuqxlaqaxlaix c: One of the first women to settle at Rivers Inlet in the beginning of time.

nuqwxaxaix of one year"old: One year.

nuqxix: Envy, in the sense of desire for something from which one is debarred by lack of prerogative.

nuqxsil, "Empty House": House in which a *Ixcixt* dancer is taking place.

nuqxlaix: The throwing of grease on a fire to burn, both literally and figuratively, a rival.

Nuqxsly": 1—Supernatural beings responsible for an eclipse.
2—Eclipse.

nuqxlixtax: Physical strength of the body running down the sides from little finger to little toe.

nuqxnaxix: Hoot-like cry uttered at the coming of a call for *ḥaxaixaix* and other important *ixcixt* rites.

nuq"*nuxcixlaix*: Unexpected strokes of good fortune.

Nuqscxmlaix: *Ixcixt* name of a Kimsquit man.

Nuqsmilaix: Site of an ancient town on Johnstone Pass.

Nuqsnlaix: The upper forearm.

nuqtaxa: Women with thick pubic hair.

Nuqtaxcxlaix c: A *Sisaa* gamekeeper.

Nuxtlqaxmlaix, "Where *Nūsqaxtaxw* Speaks": One of the names of the supreme god's house.

nuxtlqaxtaxw: Contravened luck.

Nuxtqaxtaxw, "The Place for Catching Salmon": Name assumed by *Sisaa* in the beginning of time.

nuxtlqaxtaxw: Canoe-maker.

Nuxtlaxw: River entering the Bella Coola from the north near *Nuqkaix*.

nuxtxlaxtaxw: Children's dance which serves as training for *Ixcixt* rites and to provide entertainment.

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qaaxlaxaly: The dancing, by several of his associates, to "help" a *haxlat* performer.
Kwaxsil: Undefined locality in the Bella Bella area.
Ky: Mountain above *Dean*.
qakaa-x: Supernatural bird, bringer of good luck.
Kakaxlal: Locality near the head of Dean Channel.
qakas: 1—Beaver.
2—Nickname name of a Kimsquit man.
Kakas: Man mentioned in a song.
Kallaskaay: Kwakiutl name of a *Dean* man with prerogatives of biting himself.
qakaldi: The location in a house taken by a wife when ceremonially seated behind her husband.
Kalsmalisk: Influential *Nuqkalst* chief who died about 1910.
Kamtsmchaals: Ancestral name of a *Dean* chief; the designation may be of Kwakiutl origin.
Kamxsm: 1—One of the nine supernatural beings.
2—White person.
3—*Haxlat* name of a Kimsquit woman.
kamxtqwat: Clean, dry skull.
qamqmat-x: Stump, in the language of Raven.
Kamxyaxs: 1—Supernatural being, lord of the under-sea world.
2—Ancestral name of a *Kamxyaxs* man.
Kamxyaxs: Man living in Bella Bella in early times.
Kamxsilis: Ancestral name of a *Tsimsil* woman.
qanas-x: Large, cone-shaped whistle used in round dive.
Kanqax: "Salty?": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
qaqkas: To drift away, of smoke.
Kaskapkaxs-x: Name conferred on their canoe by the five settlers at *Dean* in the beginning of time.
qaqsta: Framework of split sticks for counting salmon.
qaqtsi: Drum.
Kathwas: One of the four men to settle at *Nuqkalst* in the beginning of time.
Kaxgal: Bella Bella village.
qaxs: Kwakiutl term for "eagle down" ceremonial.
qaxlas: Third day of a *haxlat* dance.
Kaxlaxlas: Harbour on Labouchere Channel.
Kaxlaxlas: Settlement in the Carrier country.
qaxlaxlaxs, "A Washing of the Hands": Term used to describe a marriage arranged by the offending party to settle a feud.
qaxlil: Widow-lime.
qaxlilkis dzawas, "A Washing to Free from Taint": Term applied to a ceremony to clear the path of the children when a husband has married a slave wife or one near.
Kaxs: 1—One of the names of Raven as child.
2—Platyfish name of a Kimsquit man.
3—Kwak name of a Kimsquit man.
Kaxlaxsas: Supernatural woman from whom the Carpenters are said to have derived their skill in the beginning of time.
Kaxsdzis: 1—*Haxlat* name of a *Tsimsil* man.
2—*Haxlat* name of a Kimsquit man.
qaxs: White swan.

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q̓ualtwaxs: 1—Tally post, one of the supernatural elements possessed by all human beings.
2—Invisible supernatural element which constantly moves before the face.

q̓ualtwaxs; *nuxaiw*, *q̓ualtwaxas*, (rarely, *q̓ualtwaxs*): Crest.

q̓uaq: Raven.

q̓uaq: Big old male mountain goat.

Q̓uaqcilis: *Kwakiutl* name of a man living in the last century.

Q̓uaqlalelis: Celebrated Kwakiutl chief.

Q̓uaqquaq nuxaiw: Name of a shaman who received his power from Raven.

Q̓uaxmaxs: One of the first men to settle at *Dzaxa* in the beginning of time.

q̓uaxmaxs: Fourth oldest, or youngest, brother or sister.

q̓uaʼxalaks: Steller's jay.

Q̓uaxkil: Kimsquit woman.

q̓uaxs: Woman's pubic hair.

q̓uaxs: Seal-line rub.

q̓uaxs: Those who are present and receive gifts when an announcement of a marriage is first made.

Q̓uaxs: *Kwakiutl* name of a Bella Coola man.

q̓uaxʼaʼxaxs: A revelation, such as the sight of a supernatural being or object usually concealed.

q̓uaxlaxs: Yearling seal.

q̓uaxsq: Word used in inviting to a marriage announcement.

Q̓uaxsus: Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.

Q̓uaxsuxsuxsuxs: Kwakiutl supernatural being, said to be identical with *Alpuxtam*.

Q̓uaxtlaklaklaʼ: *Nuxalk* name of a Kimsquit man.

Q̓uaxyaʼ: Bella Bella village west of Namu.

Q̓uaʼ: Hot Springs on Labouchere Channel.

Q̓uaʼaxyaʼ: Professional female marriage dresser who came down to Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

q̓uaʼaxsaxs: One of the nine supernatural siblings.

Q̓uaʼlaxʼ, "Place of Herbage": Village in the upper Bella Coola valley.

q̓uaʼnx: Inspiration, in the sense of the source of a *hamats'a* dancer's power of thought.

Q̓uaʼnxalʼ: Village west of Kwatna, settled in the beginning of time.

q̓uaʼnxalʼaxs: Actual goods used for the repurchase of a wife.

Q̓uaʼqaʼaxsaxs: Ancestral name of a Kimsquit chief.

q̓uaʼsalʼ: Cradle.

Q̓uaʼxalʼ: *Kwakiutl* name of a Bella Coola woman.

Q̓uaʼxaʼ: Man mentioned in an ancient story.

q̓uaʼxiʼaxs: The noble and rightful sentiments engendered in both families by an elaborate marriage, either real or fictitious. The word embodies the concepts of financial interdependence and of consequent mutual strength.

q̓uaxlaxs: The transference of activities to a new sphere; the term is used, rhetorically, when referring to the death of a skilled craftsman.

S

saʼaks: 1—Skeleton.
2—Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.

Saʼaksaʼaxsaxs: *Kwakiutl* name of a Bella Coola man.

saʼaxs ẓlaklaʼ: The constant blinking of the eyes.

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By laying their hands on the nape of a person they are able to tell whether his soul is present or whether it has left the body. If the soul should become weak they are able to restore it to its former vigour. If a person swoons it is believed that his soul has flown away without breaking its shell. The shaman hears its buzzing wings, which give a sound like those of a mosquito. He may catch and replace it in the nape of its owner. If the soul leaves the body without breaking its shell the owner becomes crazy.

The art of shamanism is bestowed by Snq. It is impossible to obtain it by means of fasting and praying, as is the case among the neighbouring tribes, but it is a free gift from the deity. A person who is to become a shaman will fall sick, and, during his illness, Snq will give him a song which must be kept a deep secret. After this he is able to cure diseases. If a person falsely pretends to have received the gift of shamanism, and tries to suck out diseases from a patient, he will fall sick himself.

When asked more closely about the curious difference between this method of obtaining the power and that of the neighbouring tribes my informant said: 'When an Awiky'ê'noq wishes to become a shaman he may go to the mountain where the deity of their shamans resides (probably Mâ'tem) who will initiate him. No Bilqula can obtain the art in such a way.'

Sickness is caused by a disease entering the body or by witchcraft (see p. 417). The shaman is able to extract the disease by sucking. A peculiar method of witchcraft, somewhat similar to the 'ek'a' of the Kwakiutl (see Sixth Report of the Committee, p. 612), was described to me as follows: The person who wants to bewitch his enemy endeavours to obtain some of his old clothing, portions soaked by perspiration being considered especially effective. After it is obtained a wolf is killed, and the clothing is put into its mouth, which is then tied up. Then the wolf is placed in a box. This procedure is called *sauk*. Sometimes the clothing or some hair is inclosed in the bone of a wolf or of a dead person. No shaman can counteract these charms.

If a person has been murdered, and a string is tied firmly around the neck of the corpse, the murderer's neck will become diseased and he will be unable to breathe and will die. If sand is strewn in the corpse's eyes and the lids closed over it the murderer will die. If a person has been killed with a knife or arrow, or another weapon, to which some of his blood adheres, the latter is brought into contact with a wolf's head, dog's hair, or anything else that is bad, and then thrown into the fire or put into a frog's or snake's mouth; then the murderer will die.

I add here a few current beliefs:—

Sneezing indicates that people are talking about one.

Slight ringing of the ears indicates rain, loud ringing good weather.

Twitching of the muscles of the left side of the body is unlucky; of the right side lucky. Twitching of the skin under the eyes indicates that one will cry.

If a dog dreams and howls in its sleep its owner will die.

The breaking of a box without an apparent cause is unlucky.

WARS.

When a war party was organised the warriors did not paint their faces, but they put on headbands of white cedar-bark and strewed their